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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER:

PRIMITIVE MAN

BY

Z. SIDNEY SAMPSON

AUTHOR OF "THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY."

*The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.*

—Nature, i., 7.

THE fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimental forms, and rose to the more complex as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling-place; and that the lower perish as the higher appear. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking to us some remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. . . . The age of the quadruped is to go out, — the age of the brain and of the heart is to come in. And if one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the Better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and gehenna. He will convert the Furies into Muses and the hells into benefit.—Culture.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

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PRIMITIVE MAN

BY

Z. SIDNEY SAMPSON

AUTHOR OF “THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY.”

BOSTON :
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COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED.

Spencer's "Principles of Sociology"; Lyell's "Antiquity of Man"; Winchell's "Pre-Adamites"; Joly's "Man before Metals"; Force's "Prehistoric Man"; Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," and "Origin of Civilization"; Keary's "Dawn of History"; Lind's "Man"; Nadaillac's "Prehistoric Man in America"; Nillson's "Prehistoric Man in Skandinavia"; Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements in Great Britain," and "Bronze Implements in Great Britain"; Quatrefage's "The Human Race"; Tylor's "Anthropology," "Primitive Culture," and "Early History of Mankind"; Wilson's "Anthropology"; Wright's "The Ice Age in North America"; Wood's "Natural History of Man"; Lewis's "The Antiquity of Man in Eastern America" (in *Am. Geologist*, 1880).

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PRIMITIVE MAN.*

MAN, whence and whither? These problems have puzzled all the ages and perplexed all the philosophies. If the most advanced doctrine of Evolution be true, and if not only the complex physical organization of Man, but his royal intellect as well, have been compacted of the nebulous mists of the ancient heavens, the mystery and wonder are intensified in manifold degrees, and man becomes a greater enigma to himself than ever.

"We walk between two eternities," said Diderot. "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting," writes Wordsworth. Says the Sphinx, in Emerson's Poem:

"Who'll tell me my secret
The ages have kept?
I awaited the seer,
While they slumbered and slept;—
The fate of the man-child;
The meaning of Man;
Known fruit of the unknown." . . .

Something, however,—thanks to the science of late years, which has supplanted the former guess-work that went by the name of science,—is known of the character of man's life upon the earth prior to historic records; and the same science is pressing hopefully onward to open new avenues of exploration, and to perfect such knowledge as we possess.

In our course of lectures last year we were amply instructed as to the present accomplishments of science on the question of the "Descent of Man." We are now, in a supplementary way, to inquire what has been the life record of man since the period when first he stood forth as truly man, asserting through some superior, though at first, slight prescience, his mastery over the mere brutes that perish. If the conclusions are subversive of some cherished legends of the historic past, yet here, as on so many other lines of Evolution, we obtain a more unified and coherent, and

thereby a more reverent conception of the totality of Nature and of Man, and may be reconciled to the loss of that which the more credulous past held worthy of belief; for as these myths of ancient times have enriched the imagination, and stimulated the faith in an Unknown, so have they entered into the life of the Present, which is the sum of all the Past, and have but been transformed into loftier ideals.

The establishment, within a recent period, upon a satisfactory scientific basis, of the fact of the great antiquity of man upon the earth, was primarily due to the results of investigations regarded, at the time, as of but slight consequence, and therefore, like so many other preludes to the discovery of important scientific truths, wholly undervalued, and, indeed, for a considerable time, wholly disregarded. The credit of inaugurating the line of research whereby has been ultimately demonstrated the existence of primitive races for tens, if not hundreds of thousands of years anterior to all historic records, belongs to the French scientist, M. Boucher de Perthes. Possessed by the energy and enthusiasm of a truly scientific spirit, he devoted himself from the year 1836 to 1841 to a thorough exploration of the ancient caves, peat-mosses and diluvial deposits in the vicinity of Abbeville, and in the valley of the Somme, in France. During this five-years' labor he unearthed a large quantity of flint weapons and tools of various kinds, evidently shaped by artificial means, having surfaces and edges roughly chipped, and obviously designed for use as spears, arrow-heads, axes, knives and hammers. The question immediately suggested was as to the age of these implements. To this geology furnished a reply. The objects were found to be incrustated with material of a yellowish tinge, clearly not due to the substance of the objects themselves, but to the ferruginous nature of the soil in which they had been imbedded. In a certain layer of the diluvium was found the character of such deposit as would have caused the incrustation, and, if the objects were imbedded in it at the time of its formation, some approximate idea could be obtained as to the age of the implements. "If," as he says in his report upon these investigations, as quoted by Prof. Joly in his work, "*Man before Metals*," "they were in the bed from the beginning, the problem was solved, and the man who made the implement

was anterior to the cataclysm to which the deposit owed its formation. In this case there was no possibility of doubt. Diluvian deposits do not, like peat bogs, present an elastic and penetrable mass" (*i.e.* a mass into which objects could have been forced by various external agencies), "nor do they, like the bone-caves, present a gaping chasm, into which objects might have been thrown by torrents, or into which they might have been conveyed by men or animals, but, on the contrary, each period is sharply defined. The layers are disposed horizontally, the strata differ in color and substance. If this work of human hands has remained there from the first, as irremovable as the bed itself, then it had a prior existence, and these rude stones, in all their imperfections, prove the existence of man no less surely than such a building as the Louvre itself could have done." This was evidently a true scientific induction, inferred in accordance with the well recognized scientific formula that the opposite of the proposition cannot be conceived as true.

The question as to the age of the diluvium itself makes it necessary for us to turn a few leaves of the geological record. As set forth in the subjoined table,* the periods with which we have to deal are of the Tertiary and Quaternary epochs, these having been preceded by the immensely long eras of the Primary and Secondary, in which it is not claimed that any traces of man's existence have been discovered.

Considering now the question as to the possible or probable existence of man in the several epochs of the Tertiary, it is agreed that no traces of human remains or human workmanship are discoverable in the earliest, *i.e.* the Eocene. The mere absence of human remains does not, however, conclude the question, for such are but rarely found in the long subsequent Pleistocene strata, whence, at the same time, thousands of flint implements have been excavated. But the argument from the character of the fauna of the period militates strongly against the probability of man's existence. Giving here the conclusions as summarized by Prof. Fiske in his interesting essay on "Europe before the Arrival of Man," we note the first appearance, in the Eocene, of the placental mammals, following the marsupials of the earlier periods, of which

* See next page.

latter but few species remain. But the placental mammals of the Eocene differ so widely from the mammals of to-day as not to be recognized as related, in succession, to the

<i>Geological Periods.</i>		<i>Races.</i>	<i>Ages.</i>
QUATERNARY.	ALLUVIUM and RECENT	HISTORIC	IRON
		LAKE-DWELLERS DOLMEN BUILDERS MOUND BUILDERS PEAT BEDS	BRONZE
		SHELL MOUNDS	NEOLITHIC TRANSITION PERIOD
	DILUVIUM GLACIAL EPOCH PLEISTOCENE or POST PLIOCENE	CAVE MEN	PALÆOLITHIC
		RIVER DRIFT MEN	PALÆOLITHIC
TERTIARY.	PLIOCENE	PROBABLE APPEARANCE OF MAN	PALÆOLITHIC
	MIOCENE	EXISTENCE OF MAN DOUBTFUL	
	EOCENE	MAN NON- EXISTENT	

latter, except through careful and experienced scientific research and classification; and the difference consists, mainly, in their far closer relationship among themselves, in structure, than among existing orders and species. In

the Eocene we find the ancestor of the horse, but having several toes, instead of the solid hoof. We have the progenitor of the deer and antelope species, but not presenting the special characteristics of the latter, being devoid of horns or antlers. The nearest approach to what was to be man is discovered in the lemur and lemuroid ape. The strange circumstance of all, however, is the resemblance, in form and structure, between the hoofed quadrupeds and the primates (*i.e.* the lemur and ape families). In other words, we do not find in the Eocene any of the existing species or genera, but only fauna of the fossil orders, from which present species and varieties have, by a slow evolution, differentiated.

It is therefore, argues Mr. Boyd Dawkins, with much force, in his "Early Man in Britain," altogether improbable that man, the most highly complex and specialized of all the primates, with his manifold special characteristics and adaptations of bodily function, to say nothing of his extraordinary and diversified mental processes, should have been contemporaneous with a fauna which had not, as yet, developed a single feature of physical conformation peculiar to the species now existing. To this conclusion add the argument from the non-existence, so far as now known, of human remains or implements, and the question of man's existence in the Eocene must be answered in the negative.

Coming now to the Miocene, or Middle Tertiary, the discussion turns mainly upon the fact, or otherwise, of the discovery of traces of man's presence. The discovery of carved flints below certain miocene deposits in France was announced at the Prehistoric Congress in Paris in 1867, and again at the Prehistoric Congress in Brussels in 1872. The announcement caused a wide divergence of opinion among anthropologists, which continues to the present time, some denying wholly that these carvings are the work of man, others being doubtful, some few admitting it. The question evidently awaits further exploration. The supposition of one eminent scientist, M. Gaudry, that these incisions could have been made by the great man-like ape of that period, the *dryopithecus*, is not generally accepted.

With reference to the Pliocene a like question has been raised as to the age of discoveries of the same and similar character. In 1844 the finding of human bones in a volcanic breccia upon the side of a mountain in France,

upon the opposite side of which, in the same deposit, were unearthed bones of species of mammals long since extinct, was asserted to prove man's existence in the Pliocene; but the age of the deposit itself has been questioned, whether Pliocene or early Quaternary. In 1863, the discovery of carved flints in the Pliocene sands of Chartres was communicated to the French Institute; and still further, in the progress of the Geological Survey of Portugal, stone implements were found in the Pliocene beneath 1200 feet of superincumbent rock. Without multiplying instances, for which there is not space, the consensus of scientific authority is strongly to the effect that man had appeared in the latest Tertiary epoch.*

But with the close of the Tertiary, and opening of the Quaternary, all doubt ends. In the Post Pliocene, or Pleistocene, the evidences crowd upon us, and from that period the evolution of man in physical and social conditions may be traced, not, indeed, with entire accuracy, but with reasonable certainty. Considering, for a moment, the geological character of the epoch, as necessary to account for the localities of origin and successive migrations of primeval man, we note that the conformation of the European continent was, substantially, as at present. It is asserted that, during the Pliocene, inland seas extended from the eastern portion of the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, and from the Caspian to the Arctic, thus allowing the warmer southern currents of the Indian ocean to modify the severer climate of Scandinavia and Russia. Professor Geikie claims that these seas disappeared early in the Pliocene, thereby reducing the temperature of Northern Europe. By the close of the Pliocene the climate of Northern Europe generally had become considerably colder. Throughout the early Pleistocene we therefore have remarkable alternations of climate, precisely how many is unknown, but heralding the approach of the long Glacial Epoch, or constituting interglacial epochs, of which two at least are generally admitted. The proofs of these successive warmings and coolings are found in the curious intermixture of fossil remains in the deposits of the Pleistocene. With the remains of mammals peculiar to present tropical areas, viz., the lion, leopard, elephant, etc., we find bones of

*Further evidences are collated in Prof. E. D. Cope's Lecture on "The Descent of Man," Brooklyn Ethical Association "Evolution Essays," p. 163.

the musk sheep, reindeer, arctic fox and chamois, showing that successive cold waves had forced, at one epoch, the arctic fauna far south of their present locality, and again that this was followed by a rise in temperature which permitted the animals of tropical zones to exist much farther north than at present.

It has been shown that men, prior to the Glacial Epoch, or savages perhaps rather, of probably an extremely low grade of development, without pottery, possibly in the earliest periods unacquainted with fire, existed contemporaneously with a fossil species of the rhinoceros, which at some warm period lived in the vicinity of London and was distributed extensively over Northern Europe. They were anterior in time, in France and Britain at least, to the musk sheep and the marmot, animals of the glacial and pre-glacial epochs. The flint implements of these tribes are of the roughest kind. It is claimed by some that these races were supplanted by the subsequent Cave Men; by others that they represent only an earlier and more primitive condition of the latter. The place of origin of River-Drift man is unknown of course, and to what periods immensely remote his ancestry extended it is still less possible even to approximate. He is simply the earliest of our own species whose existence is traceable, and, if belonging to essentially a distinct race from his successors, he has vanished into the night of the past, with only the most rudely chipped flints left to reveal even the fact of his having been upon the earth.

The result of the gradual refrigeration of the Northern Hemisphere was the Glacial Period of the Pleistocene, and the overlaying of all the countries now known as Finland and Northern Russia, Scandinavia and Scotland, and the American Continent as far south as the latitude of Philadelphia, with a sheet of ice many hundreds of feet in thickness, sending forth immense glaciers still farther southward. The occurrence of the Glacial Period is so well established as to have become one of the commonplaces of Geology. The proofs from the striation of rocks in the northerly and central portions of Asia, Europe and America, caused by the friction upon rock surfaces of masses of ice in motion, and now still being produced by glacial action in the Alps and elsewhere;—the fact of old river-beds existing at the foot of mountains, which have undoubtedly, in past ages, been the scene of glacial movement, and caused

by the melting of the ice mass,—the deposit, in all countries, of boulders evidently brought from regions far remote northerly from the localities where deposited, and of a mineralogical character wholly different, in many instances, from that of the soil on which they rest,—are matters of ordinary information. The important result, in the history of primitive man of the ice age, in Europe certainly, was the migration from the vicinity of our present arctic climate into the central and southern-central portions of the continent, of the race known as the cave-men, forced southerly by the exigencies of extreme cold, and displacing or exterminating the prior people of the river-drift, who have left with us such abundant proofs of their occupation in the countless specimens of flints, knives, axes, hammers and weapons with which, and by which, their existence and name are identified. The cave man was contemporaneous with the entire glacial era, and with the geological period immediately subsequent, classed by scientists as the Diluvian or Drift. This brings us once more to the formation in which M. de Perthes' discoveries were first made, and by him made available for further scientific inquiry.

The diluvian deposit was largely a direct consequence of the cessation of the glacial epoch in Europe, caused by the gradual increase in temperature and the resultant melting of the vast ice formations, and the gradual withdrawal of the southerly line of glacial action to the remote north once more, except in lofty and therefore cold altitudes like those of the Alps, where it is still in operation. The consequence of this general melting down of the ice-deposits was the creation of extensive river-floods, which, bearing along the great mass of foreign bodies conveyed southwardly by the glaciers, formed what is known specifically as the diluvium of the valleys—consisting of debris from the mountains, gravels, pebbles, and sediment of mud and sand frequently impregnated with oxide of iron (the ferruginous layers of which we have spoken), and with calcareous or chalky material. The close of the diluvian period brings us to the alluvial deposits and recent period, within which no terrestrial changes of soil or climate have been sufficient materially to affect the evolution of the race.

I return now to the discoveries of M. de Perthes. With great confidence in regard to the bearing of these upon the future of primitive ethnology and archæology, he submitted

his specimens to the Institute, with the usual consequence of arousing skepticism, and, in this case, ridicule. But he laughs best who laughs last, and prejudice and obtuseness finally yielded to scientific examination. It is not so many years indeed, since men ceased to regard these strange, but by no means unusual objects, as preternatural, if not supernatural, or "freaks of nature" as they were once termed. The ancients, indeed, classed them with the supernatural, and had called them "*lapides fulminis*," implying that they had fallen from the sky with the thunderbolt—and "*ceraunice gemmæ*," i.e. heavenly gems, on the theory that they had been formed on the earth by the fire of Jove; so, also, "lightning-stones." They were used in certain religious ceremonies by Egyptians and Romans. Even to-day they are objects of superstitious regard among some of the more ignorant of the peasantry, and kept by them carefully as having power to ward off disease or witchcraft. But even among scientists these implements had not received the attention which they deserved. As soon as investigation was commenced and interest aroused, many collections were found to have been already made, available for further study, and which have materially contributed to the advancement of prehistoric archæology.

Following Sir John Lubbock and others, the division of the age of primitive man which has been generally approved, is that into the palæolithic, or old stone, and the neolithic, or new stone periods,—and the periods of bronze and of iron. To the palæolithic are assigned the eras of the men of the river-drift and of the cave men; but it should be here remarked that the points of transition between these various epochs, as well as the length of the periods themselves, are extremely vague and indeterminate. Old and new stone implements are, in numerous instances, found in the same locality, and neolithic and bronze objects are also frequently associated—and both these, in some cases, with implements of iron. To definitely differentiate the periods is equally impossible—the earlier extend into the later, so that any chronological arrangement, except of the most general kind, is out of the question. So far, likewise, from these epochs being contemporaneous in all parts of the world, we have numerous of the lower and some of the higher of the savage races of to-day, and some of the

partly civilized, in the habitual use of stone implements of the later stone age. It has therefore been properly said that a given kind of implement indicates rather a stage of culture than a classification in time. So regarded, the palæolithic are characteristic of the earliest man;—these, roughly hewn and chipped, betoken an extremely remote age. The specimens consist of axes, lance and arrow heads, knives, scrapers for preparing skins, and hammers, all of the most primitive type, prepared almost exclusively from flint, except where, as in America, jade and obsidian are more readily obtained. These implements abound in great quantities, not only in the diluvian, but in the numerous bone caves of various ages, and megalithic tombs, in peat mosses, shell mounds, barrows, crannoges and lake-dwellings.

It is to the flints discovered in the bone-caves that we owe the second important deduction as to man's antiquity, for here we discover bones of extinct species of animals intermingled with palæolithic implements. If the implements are found so imbedded with these remains as to prove contemporaneity in the date of deposit, we have a further satisfactory scientific datum. It is now absolutely known that the principal species of animals existent during the early Quaternary—though now wholly extinct—were the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave hyena, the cave bear, the cave cat, the cave lion, and the Irish elk. With the bones of these quaternary fauna, have been found associated not only flint implements, but human remains as well, under circumstances which preclude any reasonable doubt of the co-existence of man with the above enumerated species. The announcement of these discoveries was first made in 1828. In 1833 the caves of Belgium were thoroughly explored, and skulls and portions of the human skeleton were found lying not only above, but below, fossil animals. Sir Charles Lyell first opposed the theory, but after a quarter of a century argued in support of it; and when, in 1858, upon a thorough examination of the recently opened cave of Brixham, in England, an entire leg of the cave bear was found superimposed upon an incrustation of stalagmite, which itself was found superimposed upon flint instruments, the proof was deemed sufficient for the Royal Society to endorse the proposition of the existence of Quaternary man as fully established.

The bone-caves abound in all parts of the globe, among

the most interesting being those found in the cretaceous or chalk formation. As to the agencies by which they have become thus filled with human and animal remains, the action of river-floods does not appear to have been the sole cause, though it may have been one of the most efficient. As has been remarked, these cavities were, for a length of time unknown, utilized by primitive man, as well as by various species of now mostly extinct animals, for purposes of residence, and for temporary shelter; both probably carried or bore into them the animals upon which they subsisted or preyed. The mere juxtaposition of human and animal remains does not, of itself, demonstrate the great antiquity of the former, for, in fact, various articles of undoubtedly recent human workmanship have been found thus associated. But "doubt is no longer reasonable when the bones of animals and those of our own species, uniformly mixed, imbedded in the same sediment, and which have undergone the same alterations both in external characteristics and of chemical decomposition, are moreover covered by a thick layer of stalagmite—when objects of a completely primitive industry occupy the same deposit with bones of extinct fauna. And finally, when we find in the diluvian strata of the valleys, manufactured objects and bones exactly like those discovered in caves of the same date, the proofs are conclusive."*

Have we any data for determining or approximating the age in the world's history of the glacial period, and thereby the time of existence of the cave men and their predecessors? It seems that we have. I give the summary of the argument as set forth by Professor Fiske, in his interesting essay on the "Arrival of Man in Europe." The conclusions there stated are those reached by Prof. Croll. The chief cause of the reduction in temperature, which ultimately produced the ice age, was an alteration in the earth's orbit in the direction of greater eccentricity.† It has been shown that at least three times within the past 3,000,000 years this eccentricity has reached its maximum, with the result

* Prof. N. Joly, *Man before Metals*.

† In the discussion following the lecture, Dr. P. H. van der Weyde suggested that the gradual elevation of land-areas into the region of perpetual cold, was a simpler and more reasonable explanation of the formerly extensive prevalence of glacial phenomena, which are still observable in areas of high elevation. This theory would require equally immense periods of time for the deviation of these recurrent periods of glacial action, and would equally indicate the early appearance of man.

that the difference between the greatest and least distances from the sun has been between four and five times as great as at present. That is, instead of being, as now, a difference of only 3,000,000 miles, it was from twelve to fourteen millions. Furthermore, owing to what is known to astronomers as the precession of the equinoxes, at regular intervals of 10,500 years the winter season has occurred and will occur when the earth is in aphelion, or at the longest distance from the sun. If, now, these two events concur,—that is, if the greatest eccentricity of the earth's orbit happens at a time when winter occurs in aphelion,—the earth would be in mid-winter at ninety-eight millions of miles distance from the sun, instead of, as at present, ninety-one millions, and the Winter would be twenty-six days longer than Summer, instead of, as now, being eight days shorter.

Working upon these data, Prof. Croll asserts that the first of these periods of great eccentricity began 2,650,000 years ago, and lasted 200,000 years; the second began 880,000 years since and lasted 160,000 years; the third commenced 240,000 years ago and lasted 160,000 years. This would give us, since the termination of the last glacial era (or eras), 80,000 years. But it is certain that man of the river-drift period lived in pre-glacial times, and if we accept the conclusion that the most recent glacial era commenced 240,000 years ago, we must allow not less than 400,000 years ago as the date of the close of the Pliocene period, and the probable first appearance of man. Other theories which have been proposed to account for the Glacial Age, such as variations in the intensity of solar radiation, the movement of the earth from a colder into a warmer region of space, alteration in the axis of the earth and others, are fully stated and criticized in the twelfth chapter of Sir John Lubbock's "*Prehistoric Man*," as are also investigations into existing deposits and formations with a view to ascertaining the probable antiquity of the stone and bronze ages.

With the disappearance or final retreat northward of the cave men,—now represented as seems probable, if they have left any descendants, by the Esquimaux tribes alone,—we may say that the palæolithic age as a generally prevailing stage of primitive life closes, and we observe the gradual appearance of the ground or polished stones which typify the

neolithic period. A word, however, is necessary as to the habits and customs of palæolithic man.

Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, the bulk of evidence indicates that Quaternary man from the most remote period was in possession of fire. According to one authority it was known to him as far back as the Miocene, but the proofs do not seem to warrant this belief. But in the case of the earliest cave men we find numerous hearths, ashes and cinders, bones wholly or partly calcined, and fragments of hand-made pottery blackened by smoke. Pre-historic man of that period cooked his food, therefore,—perhaps not after our fashion, but possibly as among certain present savage tribes, by the application of heated stones, or in water heated by such means. His food was not carefully chosen, as it seems to our taste. Mammoths, the rhinoceros, beavers, dogs and foxes were on the bills of fare.* Marrow was a great dainty, as is evident from the quantity of the long bones of animals which have clearly been broken for the purpose of its extraction. Fire was probably obtained by friction in various ways, as among existing low races. Palæolithic man possessed no cereals nor had he domestic animals or agriculture. For his sustenance he contended with the wild and ferocious animals of his time, as is evident from many skulls of beasts fractured by flint weapons. His clothing necessarily was furs and skins, to prepare which he evidently used the flint scrapers which are so abundant. Pins of clay or bone were used to fasten the clothing, though in the so-called reindeer-age rude sewing was effected by bone needles. Of social customs we have no trace, although, if we judge by analogy of existing savage tribes, both polygamy and polyandry were practised. Of the earliest men we discover no remains of dwellings. They contended with the cave bear and cave hyæna for shelter in the natural cave formations. It was a struggle for existence in the utmost acceptation of the phrase, and that from such an unpromising environment the race should have risen to its present high standard of social and intellectual advantage is not one of the least of the wonders that the philosophy of Evolution offers for our reflection.

* The recent discovery by M. Armand Vire, of palæolithic flint-hooks, which had evidently been used as fish-hooks, and the prevalence of palæolithic spear-heads in the river-drift, indicate that fish was also a common food of palæolithic man.

We must further briefly note that the numerous carvings and designs of species of animals now extinct, which have been discovered on many of their fossil bones,—frequently exhibiting a very considerable ability in outline delineation, and superior to anything produced by the lowest or even somewhat advanced races of to-day,—are an important contribution to the proofs of the antiquity of man, and equivalent in fact to any others which have been adduced.

We may here properly sum up the several evidences:

First—The discovery in the diluvial or drift strata, whose age in geological history is relatively well known, of rude artificial flint implements.

Second—The discovery in bone caves of human remains and flint instruments demonstrated to be contemporaneous with the remains of species of animals undoubtedly extinct, and of species also which have long disappeared from the region where these remains are found.

Third—Carvings of extinct species of animals upon the bones of such animals.

Fourth—The demonstration of the descent of man from some species of anthropoid ape,—necessitating an enormous period of time, anterior even to the Tertiary, for his progress to his earliest known or supposed appearance distinctively as Man.

It is not improbable that the very earliest races were wholly devoid of any sentiment of what we call religion, or habits of worship. The lowest tribes of which we have any account in historical records appear to have possessed some instinctive recognition of superior powers, and we discover none in which some rite of propitiation and sacrifice, or funeral ceremonial at least, has not prevailed. If primitive man exhibited any religious, or, at any rate, theistic observances, they must have appeared, of course, in forms of the lowest and most degrading fetishism, inspired only by fear. But the question must remain largely speculative.

At some period subsequent to the disappearance of the cave men, and extending in some cases into the neolithic age (for the chronology is very much disputed), occur the phenomena of the peat deposits, the shell mounds, or kitchen middens as they are termed, and the constructions

of the dolmen and crannoge builders of Europe and Asia, and of the mound builders of America. Some species of dolmens may be older, others more recent, than the beginning of the new stone age. It is certain that the upper sections of the peat beds have yielded bronze implements, notably a bronze shield of skilled workmanship, which brings this deposit certainly below the neolithic era. These peat beds, or peat mosses, as they are called, are most abundant, and have been studied to the best advantage in Denmark. They consist of successive layers of carbonized material, formed from trees known to be of different periods, the lowest composed of aquatic plants and pines, including the Scotch fir, which long since disappeared from the country. This gives place to various species of oak, all but one of which has disappeared—and these, in their turn, to the beech, which now grows luxuriantly in the country. The depth is from fifteen to twenty feet. Palæolithic objects are found in the lowest deposit, which must, according to Professor Steenstrup, have been formed from ten to twelve thousand years since. Peat mosses and bogs, with corresponding remains, and imbedding the remains of extinct species of animals of the same age, are found in Ireland, France and Switzerland—in the latter containing the well-known leaf-marked coal, which, being covered by a glacial deposit, is of great antiquity, contemporaneous, in the opinion of some, with the earliest appearance of man in pre-glacial times. While it is true that, owing to the spongy, yielding nature of the material of the peat beds, we are not so well assured as to the antiquity of remains therein imbedded as in the case of the well-marked geological stratum of the diluvium, yet the researches thus far undertaken have been so carefully and impartially conducted as to make their results as worthy of confidence as similar explorations of the diluvium; and, as Professor Virchow has remarked, “If doubt was still entertained as to the coincidence of the age of the pines (now, as we have said, extinct) and the age of stone, the discovery of a flint instrument in the peat at the foot of such a pine would be conclusive.”

Coming next to the shell mounds or kitchen middens, these also abound most plentifully along the coast of Scandinavia, Denmark and North Germany. They consist of remains of prehistoric cookery, oyster-shells, mussels, lim-

pets and periwinkles, together with bones of mammals of species all at present extinct. The heaps themselves are from one to three yards in height by 100 to 350 yards long and 50 to 70 wide. In these, located but a short distance from the shores of the Baltic, and raised about three yards above the sea level, cinders, rude pottery and flint implements are found intermixed; but we discover no cereals, nor instruments of metal, though the flints are of better workmanship than those of the most remote palæolithic age. Remains of the blackcock and the penguin, birds long since non-existent in these localities, are also found, but no human remains. The age of the heaps is in dispute — some placing it at 7000 years, others bringing them down to the age of the dolmens. It does not seem possible to reconcile scientific opinion on the subject.

In the Winter of 1853-54 the waters of Lake Zurich fell to the lowest level till then recorded. Prof. Keller then first had his attention drawn to certain piles driven into the bed of the lake. The closer examination of these was the inception of a scientific interest among archæologists, in the investigation of these structures, which proved to be specially fruitful of results concerning prehistoric man. Remains of wild and domestic animals, various forms of human skulls, implements of every description, in bone, flint, bronze and iron, pottery of more or less artistic workmanship, objects of art and ornament, woven stuffs, grinding-stones, mill-stones, grains, breads, fruit, ashes, coal — all these are found. The piles are from fifteen to thirty feet in length, their diameter three to nine inches, and they project above the surface of the water from four to six feet. They are sometimes placed in lines parallel with the shore, sometimes at right angles to it, and are either firmly imbedded in the mud, or supported by heaps of stone at their base. They were united by transverse beams, held in position by wooden pins. On these beams was constructed a platform, of thick planks, or of split trunks of trees roughly squared; and upon the platforms were erected oval, circular, or rectangular huts, ten, fifteen, or more feet in diameter, the walls being formed of perpendicular posts fastened together by wattled branches, lined with a cement of clay. The huts were covered by a roof of bark, thatch, cane, reed, fern or moss; a trap-door in the platform communicated with the lake below. Each

hut was surrounded by a ring of piles, and was united to the shore by a drawbridge. Such in brief was the lake dwelling. Some two hundred villages of such dwellings have been explored, and it appears that each village averaged about three hundred huts. The objects to be secured by this peculiar construction have not been satisfactorily determined, except that the tendency of scientific opinion is to consider defence against attack a principal motive.

The oldest of these structures do not antedate the neolithic age, and it seems that they existed until a short time after the arrival of the Romans,—at least; that is, into the iron age,—in the western part of Switzerland. In the east they disappear with the age of stone. Authorities differ as to the period of their earliest construction; some will have 5000 to 7000 years, others date them back to the earliest stage of the race. That they were considerably subsequent in time to the cave dwellers is, however, generally conceded. What particular race inhabited and built them is also in dispute. Experts like Professors Keller and Virchow assign them to tribes of aborigines of Keltic origin. Another argument points to an Asiatic origin, and to a sudden irruption of a new people, like similar irruptions of authentic history. The fact that, about the beginning of the neolithic age, several of the domestic animals (all of which were domesticated in Asia) appear in Europe at the same period; that also some four species of wheat, two of barley, with millet, peas, poppies, apples, pears, plums and flax, all of which are found in the lake dwellings and elsewhere, are each and all Asiatic importations, points to the sudden appearance in the history of European ethnology of a race essentially in advance of the cave dwellers in all matters pertaining to intelligence and civilization, and the life of which has never become extinct, but has subsisted and been infused into the life of present races.

This race, which diffused itself throughout Europe, is alleged to have been of a dark, olive complexion, with black hair and eyes, represented in modern Europe by the Basque people, who have long been recognized as in some respects the most peculiar people in Europe dwelling in the secluded territory lying between the Bay of Biscay and the Pyrenees, and called by the Kelts, who were the vanguard of the great subsequent Aryan immigration, Iberians, or western people. They are supposed likewise to have been

*Prof. Taylor
Origin of the
Aryans.*

represented by the Etruscans of the early Roman period, with an admixture of blood from the Arabs, the Moors of Spain and the Berber tribes of Northern Africa.

Whencesoever their origin, the earliest lake dwellers lived indisputably in the earlier stages of the new stone age. Their implements are highly polished, and frequently ingeniously decorated and ornamented. Many tools and utensils approaching the variety in modern use are not infrequently found;—flint saws with wooden handles; harpoons and hooks; arrows; straight and curved needles, —some of the latter sharpened at both ends, with the eye in the centre; and all manufactured of bone and horn. Bone hairpins; beads of amber; horn drinking-cups; pottery; the shuttle, spindle, and loom; various woven stuffs; cords of tree-fibre; thread of flax; willow baskets; cereals, seeds, and various fruit in considerable abundance; wooden bowls and platters; combs, maces, battle-axes, spoons, bone forks; —all indicating that with the lake dwellers modern civilization had at last dawned upon Europe. They had, moreover, domesticated nearly all of our present valuable domestic animals, including the horse. Their carpentering was ingenious. Possibly they had commerce by barter with the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and they constructed boats of great size and strength. They clothed themselves not only in skins, but with hempen and sewn stuffs. Their dead were buried in excavations, inclosed in large stone slabs, suggesting an approach to the dolmens, or megalithic stones.

Lake dwellings were not peculiar to the ancient Helvetians. We read of them in Herodotus as existing among the ancient Pæonians. In modern times we find them among the Cossacks, among the Papuans of New Guinea, in Borneo, the Celebes, and in Cochin China. Similar also were the constructions of the Aztecs of North America, and the so-called floating-islands of the Assyrians and ancient Chinese.

The dolmens, or megalithic stones, are rudely constructed, of colossal size, consisting, in the case of dolmens proper, of huge stones placed horizontally upon other immense upright blocks, the whole either covered with earth, or left exposed. Of the latter kind, Stonehenge is a well known instance. Those covered with earth take the name also of “barrows,” and “passage graves.” These exposed dolmens,

or "stone tables" as the word implies, abound especially in the plains of Brittany, in central France, and in the region of the Pyrenees. Isolated upright stones, mostly of enormous size, and known as menhirs,—occurring sometimes singly, at other times in rows,—are equally abundant, notably those at Carnac in France, which extended a distance of a mile, and number, in all, eleven thousand, disposed in eleven rows. A single specimen measures twenty yards in length, by two in average width, and another rises to the extraordinary height of thirty feet above the ground, being imbedded fifteen below it. Covered dolmens were, quite exclusively, appropriated to purposes of burial;—exposed dolmens and menhirs commonly to religious observances and sacrifices.

How these huge masses of stone were got together and raised is as much of a mystery as the piling of the Pyramids. Objects of both stone and metal have been discovered in the burial mounds, indicating that they are to be attributed to a period bordering on the close of the stone and opening of the bronze periods.

Who were the dolmen builders is another debated point in prehistoric archæology. By some they are supposed to have been the Kelts; by others, a race prior to the latter, whom they supplanted. That these structures are not Druidic, and that the Druids belong to a period far subsequent, is generally conceded, but scientists are at variance not only upon the question as to who built them, but also on the question whether they are the constructions of any special race, or whether different races may not have independently reached, or passed through a dolmen and tumulus building epoch.

That America, no less than Europe, was the the habitat of races as primæval as the palæolithic man of Europe, has been fully established. At New Orleans a complete skeleton has been discovered, buried beneath four successive forests, and an age of 57,000 years has been assigned to the remains. Agassiz came upon human remains in the conglomerate of a Florida reef, which he asserted to have been deposited exceeding 10,000 years ago. The caves of Brazil have yielded, as in Europe, numerous bones of man imbedded with those of fossil animals. The implements discovered are the same, subserving similar purposes, although, as has been stated, more frequently chipped from obsidian, jade or porphyry. Likewise we find in Central America,

Peru, and Bolivia, the huge chulpas, or burial crypts, of perpendicular stones, answering to the similar dolmens and tumulus graves of Europe, and proving a universal tendency of primitive peoples to develop correspondent ideas as to architectural work, at widely different localities.

It is to the so-called "Mounds of the American Basin" that notice and research have of late years been more particularly directed, and it is in these localities, embracing the extensive areas in the region of the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, in the valley of the Scioto, and in Wisconsin, that Messrs. Squier and Davis, and others, have made an exhaustive study of these prehistoric phenomena. Briefly stated, these mounds, mostly designed and constructed for burial purposes, though in certain instances for purposes of religious observance, are in form most generally circular. At other times they are laid out, over extensive areas, in the form, or after the outline, of various animals, or even of such objects as pipes, etc. Advantage has been taken of the natural conformation of the ground to represent such figures, and the results, so far as mere size is concerned, are astonishing,—one of them containing not less than 550,000 cubic feet, while four would exceed the largest of the Pyramids, and another one is fully 700 feet in length by 500 in width and 90 in height, and is estimated to contain twenty million cubic feet of contents.

There is considerable uniformity as to the relics discovered. Together with polished stone implements, we find work in copper, and also chipped flints, making it difficult to attribute the mounds to specific periods. The question is still further complicated by the fact that they have been occupied by different tribes, if not by various races, at successive periods,—remains having frequently been disturbed, though not generally molested, for the convenience of subsequent occupants.

With reference to the mounds, as well as to the dolmens and barrows of Europe, the conclusion of archæologists is that they were intended, as in the case of the Pyramids, for places of sepulture for chiefs of tribes, perhaps also for others of distinction. So much labor would not be expended for the burial of the common people. The relative scarcity of human remains indicates the purpose above mentioned, and the presence of altars, and other tokens and emblems of ritual and sacrifice, suggestive of the

universally prevailing worship of the dead, or worship of deities at the tombs of the deceased, points to the same conclusion.

The period, or stage of culture, denoted by the use of bronze implements, brings us well within historic times. The date of the disuse of bronze, and the adoption of iron as the most serviceable metal for general use in the construction of tools and weapons, is as difficult of approximation as the periods of the rise and cessation of the early ages of stone,—for one reason, among many, that the use of bronze in the manufacture of ornamental work continued far down into the iron epoch. Sir John Lubbock places the close of the Bronze age at the period of the Trojan war; and the mention of brass (as the word bronze is improperly translated) in Deuteronomy, so much more frequently than iron, denotes that the same age among the early Hebrews had not then closed.

The object of this Essay being, particularly, an inquiry into the life and relics of more primitive races, our space has been mostly given to the discoveries and conclusions relating to the earlier old and new stone periods. Within the limits of a single paper, we can do little more than suggest, not discuss at length, the most important topics and results of prehistoric archæology. The literature of the subject is voluminous and increasing, but it is not appropriate, in a popular series, that we should enter into scientific details, nor is such treatment in fact necessary or important. The significance of the whole discussion for us, in this course upon Sociological Evolution, hinges upon the question of man's existence in the palæolithic age. If we establish, as a truth, the fact of man's existence upon the planet at a period remote from us by 80,000 years, or even half that time;—if we find him, at that distant age, so low in respect to habits, manners, and intelligence, that for uncounted centuries he had to take almost even chances of survival with the cave-bear and the mammoth,—frozen by glaciers or scorched with torrid heat; toilsomely shaping his rough-hewn flints wherewith barely to hold his own in the struggle for existence;—if these things be a proven fact, and if from this state have emerged the complex and elaborate civilizations, arts, commerce, industries, and immensely specialized activities of the modern centuries, the doctrine of the continuous evolution of man and of society

receives an affirmation second only to that which it received when the genius of Darwin brought to its support the revolutionary doctrine of natural selection, with all its manifold implications. The descent of man from some one of the primates of the animal kingdom was indeed distinctly asserted by Darwin; but the proofs as to the slow, gradual melioration of the race, in respect to its progress from brutehood to manhood, was yet to be distinctly affirmed and demonstrated by the patient labors of prehistoric science. These demonstrations (for such they now are) have put the last nail in the coffin of special creationist theories, and the entire cosmos of man and nature is fully explicated as the sublime immanent working of One Power energizing in and through both Man and Nature.

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AUTHOR OF "WEALTH AND PROGRESS," "THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ECONOMICS," "THE ECONOMIC HERESIES OF HENRY GEORGE," ETC.

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And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm.
Mounts through all the spires of form.*

—Nature, i., 7.

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BY

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EVOLUTION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM.*

THIS is essentially the era for testing systems. The time was, and not long since, when the laboring classes, and even the more intelligent advocates of industrial reform, regarded the capitalist as responsible for all industrial disadvantages to which they were subjected; whether it was a reduction of wages, the refusal to grant an increase of wages, or whatsoever, the individual employer or employers in general were held responsible. We have now reached the stage however where that mode of discussion is largely dispensed with. Among the more intelligent laborers, the subject is no longer discussed on purely personal grounds, but is considered from the standpoint of the constitutional tendency of existing economic and social institutions. In a word, the discussion of the industrial question has been transferred from the sphere of individual responsibility to that of economic and social law.

This is a great advance towards a scientific consideration of the subject. It compels the laborer to look beyond the employer for the cause of the industrial hardships he encounters. Accordingly, to-day, all shades of social reformers, though they differ upon everything else, practically agree that the evils of society are due to the inherent nature of our industrial system as a system. The tyrannous exactions of the "heartless employer," the fraud of the "unscrupulous trader" and the vicious practices of the speculator are all pointed to as the necessary results of the present industrial organization of society — the wages system. It is held, and this view seems to be increasing, that the system of wages is a system of bondage, that the existence of wage-receivers implies the existence of capitalistic *masters*, that it is a system which enables the rich to grow richer by increasing the poverty of the poor. In short, that it is essentially a system of industrial servitude

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and social degradation, differing from slavery only in name; that it is necessarily inimical to industrial development, the growth of individual freedom and a progressive civilization. Consequently, the hand of the social reformer without regard to his constructive tenets is everywhere raised against the wages system. Whether he be Anarchist, Nationalist, Green-backer, Land Nationalizer or Socialist, the first step in his march towards the millennium is the abolition of the wages system.

It may be frankly admitted that the wages system is an essential part of the capitalistic system of production, and an indispensable feature of modern industrial methods. But is it necessarily an evil, economically or socially? is the first question to settle. If the wages system is inherently inimical to progress, nothing can justify its perpetuation. The prime question for the statesman and social philosopher to consider is human progress. All industrial conditions, social influences and institutions should be promoted or restrained according as they contribute to this end. There is nothing too sacred to be abolished in order to promote social advancement. If socialism is necessary to progress I am a socialist. I am in favor of revolution if revolution will do it. But will it do it? Is socialism necessary to progress? are questions that must be satisfactorily answered before such methods of reform can be justified. Whether or not the wages system is inimical to progress and tends to prevent the growth of individual and social freedom can only be determined by a comprehensive study of the evolution of the wages system. This involves the consideration of (1) the meaning of wages and the distinctive economic characteristics of the wages system. (2) The origin and historic development of the wages system and the influences which promoted its growth. (3) The relation of the wages system to material improvement, individual development and a progressive civilization.

THE MEANING OF WAGES AND THE DISTINCTIVE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAGES SYSTEM.

Wages may be defined as the price of labor or service. Since price always implies a sale, the price of labor is necessarily a *stipulated amount given by another to the laborer for his service*. Thus wages are not, as is often assumed, what the laborer produces, nor the value of that

product, but that which is actually and consciously given in exchange for the service *per se*. Therefore, for the same reason that there can be no price without exchange or sale, there can be no wages unless labor as such is *bought and sold*. It will be observed that this definition of wages includes the incomes not only of laborers who work by the day, by the week, or by the month, but the income of all without regard to sex or social status who sell their service as service. Wages include all stipulated incomes, whether great or small, which are received in direct payment for personal service.

The distinctive feature therefore of the wages system is that it distributes wealth in the form of fixed or previously stipulated payments. It differs from the individual self-employing system in two ways. (1) Because the man who works for himself sells only the product of his labor, while he who works for wages sells only his labor or service. (2) Because the amount the self-employed laborer receives is determined by the quantity he produces, while that of the wage-receiver depends entirely upon what another will consent in advance to give for his labor. It may be said that the slave-system was a stipulated-income system for the laborer. Indeed, one of the most prominent objections urged against the wages system is that it is a species of slavery. It is held that the slave worked for the master and so does the wage-laborer; the slave received what the master gave him and so does the wage-laborer. The slave did not own the product of his labor, neither does the wage laborer.

Since the wages system is the outgrowth of slavery, it naturally possesses some of the same characteristics; but it has also some radically different features, and it is these different features that distinguish it from slavery. It is true that under both systems the laborer receives his income from the employer; that under both systems the product belongs to the employer and not to the laborer. But here the similarity ceases and a new element enters the industrial relations. Under the slave system the *laborer* was a commodity, while under the wages system it is only his service that is bought and sold. Thus, under the wages system, instead of buying and selling *laborers* as under slavery, the employer buys service and sells products. By this change the price was transferred from the

person of the *laborer* to his *labor*; thenceforth he ceased to be a commodity and became a distinct social as well as an economic factor, which constitutes a radical difference between the two industrial systems.

It is further urged that under the slave system the master was compelled to give the laborer as much of the product as would furnish him a living, and under the wages system he does no more. This is true, with the radical difference however that, under slavery, what should constitute the laborer's standard of living was determined by the arbitrary authority of the master, while under the wages system his standard of living is determined by his social habits and new desires, which may be and are constantly increased according to the extent and complexity of his social relations. Thus while under both systems the laborer's income is determined by his standard of living, in the transition from slavery to wages the standard of living was transferred from the sphere of rigid despotic authority to that of social law, where it becomes susceptible of indefinite expansion.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAGES SYSTEM.

If we examine the state of society in France at the close of the ninth century, we find little but industrial and social confusion. After the death of Charlemagne, society was practically resolved into its original elements; political government and everything like social and industrial order practically disappeared. In the reorganization of society under feudalism, the center of all allegiance, authority and ambition was transferred from the emperor and petty king to the person of the feudal baron.* With the establishment of the feudal system and its more permanent social life, a greater desire for the display of wealth and social power rapidly developed among the barons and their more wealthy vassals. The ambition of every lord to outdo his neighbors in pageantry and make the baronial hall rival the king's castle, which was so common in the tenth and eleventh centuries, naturally stimulated the growth of new wants, tastes and social habits, the satisfaction of which necessitated the production of more wealth. As these influences extended, population increased, and towns began to

* Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, Vol. I., ch. ii. Also Guizot's History of Civilization.

develop which naturally became the centers of industry and trade. With the growth of the towns, which became quite pronounced by the middle of the eleventh century, the social influences which had previously been confined to the lords and their vassals began to operate among the laboring classes.

Through this concentration of population and industry in the towns, several socializing influences began to operate. In the first place, in their daily occupations, domestic life and religious services, the laborers were constantly forced into more frequent and varied social relations, and these naturally tended to create among them the growth of new tastes and social habits. Under these conditions the laborers not only became familiar with and interested in each other, but they also acquired a more intimate acquaintance with and stronger desire for the use of wealth. Although the towns, including the laborers, were still the property of the barons, the new desires and wants thus developed gradually took root, and bore fruit in the character of the people, which finally became too strong for either baron or king to resist. Indeed it was by the character thus produced that the free cities were developed, where the seed of industrial and political freedom was planted which ultimately overthrew the feudal system and laid the foundation for modern civilization.

If time would permit, it would be interesting to follow the struggles of the laboring classes from the ninth to the fifteenth century, during which time they evolved from serfs, the literal property of the baron, to wage receivers with distinct industrial and social rights.* Suffice it to say that despite all the efforts of the barons and kings to oppress, plunder and enslave the laborers, before the middle of the eleventh century they began to obtain charters which not only gave them commercial privileges, but also secured to them the right of electing their own magistrates, judges, sheriffs, etc., and levying their own taxes. By these charters, which became very numerous by the twelfth century, the towns or free cities were practically transformed into little Republics. As early as 1020, the city of Leon received its municipal charter from Alfonzo V. of Spain. The charter of the city of London was granted by Henry I. in 1101, and those of Noyon, St. Quentin, Loan,

* *Principles of Social Economics*, Part I., ch. v.

and Amiens by Louis VI. of France about 1110. Hallam tells us that "before the death of Henry V. (1125), almost all the cities of Lombardy and many of those of Tuscany were accustomed to elect their own magistrates and to act as independent communities in waging war and in domestic government." And in England, according to the same author, "From the time of William Rufus (1087 to 1100) there was no reign in which charters were not granted to different towns for exemption from tolls on rivers and at markets, those lighter manacles of feudal tyranny, or commercial franchises, or of immunity from the ordinary jurisdiction, or lastly of internal self-government."*

The increasing wealth and prosperity of the towns was a constant source of envy to the barons, who, we are told, "plundered them on every occasion without mercy or remorse." Therefore, in order to maintain their existence and the freedom and wealth they had acquired, the towns were forced to assume open hostility to the barons. As a means of swelling their numbers and sustaining themselves in this struggle, the burgesses made the towns a place of refuge and safety for all who should come to reside within their walls. And as an additional inducement they conferred the right of citizenship upon all who remained there one year, even though they were runaway serfs from the neighboring baron's estate. Thus the towns not only protected the property and promoted the progress of the burgesses, but they offered protection and freedom to all who would flee thither from the clutches of their feudal masters. By such means they naturally attracted to them the most energetic and characterful portion of the people. With this opportunity for improvement and freedom constantly held out to even serfs of husbandry, the barons were gradually compelled to provide better conditions, grant more privileges, and some freedom, in order to prevent them from fleeing to the towns. And by the middle of the fourteenth century, we are told, the villeins of England had largely become hired laborers. In other words, the laborers had developed from serfs (slaves) into wage receivers.

Since the middle of the fourteenth century, the struggle of the laboring classes has been distinctly one for wages, as shown by the continuous legislation upon the subject

* Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, Vol. I., pp. 166-169 and 193; also Vol. II., p. 78.

since the famous statute of laborers in 1350. The first hundred years of the distinctively wage period was one of marked improvement in the condition of the laborers. Wages, which in the middle of the fourteenth century were but three pence or less a day, were doubled by the middle of the following century. Although, through causes which I cannot now stop to explain, this rise of wages was arrested* for several centuries, they were never forced back to the previous state. With the rise of the factory system, however, the same influences which produced the progress of the fourteenth century, again began to operate, and the wages system received a new impetus. And with all the disadvantages, and they are many, it must be admitted that the industrial and social progress of the laboring classes, and indeed everything that makes for civilization, has been greater than ever before.

With this evolution of industrial and municipal power came also political representation. As early as 1188, we find, the cities of Spain acquired the right of representation in the Cortes. In England, the burgesses received a general confirmation of their charters, which, with many new privileges, were declared inviolable by Magna Charta in 1214. This was publicly confirmed thirty-two times before the middle of the next century, and in 1265 the burgesses obtained representation in parliament. With the growth of industrial freedom and general advancement toward wage conditions their power over the monarchy gradually increased, till, in the reign of Edward III., parliament demanded the right to appoint the king's counsellors, and finally to make and unmake kings. There is another fact worthy of note in this connection; namely, that in the same way that, with the development of the laborers from villeinage to wage receivers, and with the rise of wages and improved social conditions, their political power increased, so with the arrest of the rise of wages and social improvement, in the middle of the fifteenth century, their political power decayed. And it was not until the subsequent rise of wages under the factory system that any real revival of the political power of the masses took place.

It will thus be observed that, historically, the evolution of the wages system is an integral part of the evolution of

* *Wealth and Progress*, Part II., ch. v.

social freedom; that it originated in the social and industrial centers which developed character; that it was born of the very struggles for individual rights, and that the history of the wages system is the history of all the industrial, social, political and religious freedom modern civilization affords.

THE RELATION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM TO MATERIAL
IMPROVEMENT, SOCIAL FREEDOM, AND A
PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION.

Although it is generally admitted that the wages system is superior to the slave system which preceded it, those who regard its abolition as necessary to progress insist that, instead of being fundamentally different from slavery, it is but a modified form of it, and therefore the final abolition of slavery and the establishment of industrial and social freedom involves the abolition of the wages system. Those who take this view, and they are very numerous, lay great stress upon the fact that, under the present system, the laborer is an employee. To them the very stipulation of income means limitation of freedom. Of all the objections urged against the wages system this is probably the most universal, and is regarded as the most fundamental. They think the only conditions under which social freedom is possible is where the laborers employ themselves. This idea underlies all the impractical schemes ever attempted for introducing the social millennium. The scheme of early communism, the socialism (New Christianity) of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, the Christian socialism of Maurice and Kingsley, the scientific socialism of Rodbertus and Karl Marx, the land nationalization of Henry George, and the military socialism of Bellamy, are all practically based upon this assumption.

The fallacy in this position arises from a misconception of the idea of freedom. Freedom is not a mere theoretic form, but a sturdy fact. It does not consist in the formal permission, but in the actual power, to go or to do. Nothing can give social and political freedom but wealth; the freedom that wealth affords does not depend upon whether the laborer works for himself or for another, but it depends entirely upon *how much wealth* he receives. There is no power in Nature, Society, or Government that can make a poor man free. Poverty is the essence of weak-

ness, it is the source of slavery, and the background of all despotism. I repeat, it is not the fact that the laborer's income is *stipulated* that limits his freedom, but the fact that it is *small*. The difference between the Pennsylvania miner and the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad is not in the form, but in the size of their incomes. A stipulated dollar gives more freedom than a stipulated cent. Let it never be forgotten, then, that it is the *quantity* and not the form of wealth that gives freedom.

Can the amount of wealth the laborer receives be increased under the stipulated-income wages system? I answer yes, emphatically yes! The evidence of history is conclusive upon this point. When the statute of laborers was enacted (1350), wages in England were three pence (six cents) a day, or about the same as they were and still are in Asia. Since that time they have risen many hundred per cent., and all under the wages system. And what is more, the rise in wages has increased as the wages system has become more general and permanent. Indeed, all the advantages of modern civilization, the discovery of the art of printing, the use of steam and electricity, the development of the factory system, the right of religious freedom, representative government, the development of the arts and sciences which enable the common laborer to obtain comforts, luxuries and freedom formerly unknown even to the wealthy, have come under the wages system.

Nor is this progress *in spite* of the wages system, as some would have us believe. On the contrary it is largely due to it. The growth of material prosperity and intelligence among the masses was an indispensable condition to this development. The art of printing has finally given us our cheap books and the daily press, which would have been impossible without the growth of intelligence among the common people which enabled them to both purchase and to appreciate literature. Nor would the mechanical inventions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the development of the modern factory and railroad have been possible but for the increasing consumption of the products by the masses.

The wages system promoted this progress in many ways. In the first place, the stipulation of incomes tends to increase their permanence, and the certainly of getting a living. In proportion as the income of any class becomes

stipulated it becomes less contingent and accidental. To the extent that this occurs, material substance becomes more certain and less precarious, which is the first step towards social and intellectual development. So long as the laborer's living is uncertain, he is in a more or less constant state of anxiety and suspense which tends to make progress in the higher phases of social life impossible. Certainty of a living is the first condition to social advancement.

- Another feature of the wages system is that it concentrates laborers and specializes their occupations. This is regarded as one of the worst features of the wages system, whereas it is in truth one of the best. By concentrating the laborers, it forces them into closer and more frequent intercourse with each other, which is indispensable to any appreciable degree of social development. Nothing can develop man's intelligence, character and freedom but contact with his fellow-man. It was because the free cities supplied this element that they were the nurseries of progress. It is true that in subdividing and specializing industry, the laborers become more and more a fractional part of the productive process. But instead of this being a disadvantage it is a positive advantage. With the specialization of labor, laborers become more and more interdependent upon each other, as for instance, in the ordinary factory to-day one laborer cannot work unless they all work. The effect of this is to make the laborers all have a common interest. The prosperity of one is the prosperity of all.

+ || Whatever welds people into a class, socializes them; and whatever socializes man expands and develops him. In proportion as men become interdependent with their fellow-men they become interested in them. In proportion as this process of social differentiation increases, our interests and sympathies broaden, our altruism is developed and the welfare of our neighbor becomes identical with our own. So long as man can succeed without the aid of his fellow-men he will remain indifferent to his neighbor's welfare. The only way to insure that man will help his neighbor is to make his neighbor's well-being necessary to his own. This is precisely what the wages system does. It takes the laborer from his isolated hand-loom or cobbler's bench, or

his little patch of land, and puts him into the factory. When it does this, it relegates him into a large specialized class, in doing which it makes him an inseparable part of a larger human aggregate. His interests are no longer isolated; his success is bound up with that of his fellows, and all the socializing influences of close intercourse and common interest at once set in. He then sees that he cannot fly away and leave his class, and therefore directs his efforts towards lifting that class. This is a fact which many of our leading writers and statesmen have not yet fully recognized.

It is a common thing to see the editors of the daily press advising the workingmen to save their pennies and become capitalists,—to leave their class and become employers. Such advice is very much like telling every boy that he can be president of the United States,—a thing that never was possible, and is becoming more and more impossible as the population increases. So the advice to the laborer to leave his class becomes more impracticable as civilization advances.

The tendency of industrial progress is constantly towards a relatively smaller number of employers, and more and more towards a stipulated income in the form of salaries and wages. The laborer feels this if he does not see it, and instead of trying to take wings and fly from his class, he endeavors to organize it. He sees that with the division and concentration of labor and stipulated incomes, the amount of wages, the number of hours' labor a day, the sanitary and other conditions under which he works, are not fixed separately for each laborer, but that they are regulated on a large scale for all. Consequently, in order to improve his own condition, whether by raising his wages, reducing his hours of labor, increasing the educational advantages for his children, or whatsoever, he is forced to demand the benefit for his *class*, as the only way of getting it for himself. This fact has brought the labor organizations into existence, which have done so much to raise the wages and improve the social and political status of the laboring classes during the present century.

There is nothing so saving to the human race, nothing that so surely promotes the advancement of civilization, as that which makes it necessary for millions to rise to-

Hence
we must
Elevate
the class

gether. No reform is worth fighting for, no statesmanship is worth considering, that does not tend to improve the conditions of the *millions*. I have no interest in any industrial or social scheme, in any civilization, or in any religion, that will save only a few. I believe in the survival of the fittest, but I also believe in making all fit to survive. Therefore to say that the wages system is opposed to freedom because it tends to create a laboring class, is to entirely misunderstand the trend of social progress. Indeed, that is one of its most redeeming features, without which improvement among the masses would be hopeless. Wages cannot rise, nor can political freedom or social character be developed by anything which does not increase the economic interdependence of the people, and weld them together in social classes. Whatever makes men more interdependent makes them more human, more altruistic and more free. The savage has the minimum of interdependence; his existence mainly depends upon his muscle and upon accidents of his situation, and he is in almost perpetual terror. He has no freedom; he can travel but a very limited distance, and is in constant fear of enemies in the form of wild beasts or wild men or wild elements. In the civilized countries where the wages system is most advanced and the greatest industrial interdependence prevails, man can travel around the world in perfect safety, because under those conditions everybody has an interest in protecting the freedom of his neighbors. That is why in the long run democracy is safer than despotism, because it includes more interests, more activities, more responsibilities and more reciprocal relations.

Another feature of the wages system is the tendency to promote more constant employment. Wages are an indispensable phase of the capitalistic system of production. There is no fact more conclusively established in the history of industrial progress than that with the development of the wages system, the division and specialization of labor and the interdependence of the laborers, has come the concentration of capital in large enterprises. Nor is there any fact more conclusive than that the concentration of capital in fixed plants and large enterprises makes a marked increase in the permanence of employment. That periods of industrial depression and enforced idleness have accompa-

nied the development of the factory-system is a fact too obvious to be questioned. These, however, as I have elsewhere shown,* are not inherent in the wages system, but are evils which sound economics and wise statesmanship may and should eliminate. But even with the blundering economics and blind statesmanship hitherto so prevalent, the permanence of employment has steadily increased with the development of the wages system and factory methods. For the proof of this you only need compare the statistics of able-bodied pauperism (enforced idleness) of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, with that of the last thirty years.

How to deal with the unemployed was the chief industrial problem that perplexed the English statesmen from the middle of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The statute books of that period bristle with enactments inflicting pains and penalties varying from the stocks to the scaffold, thousands being imprisoned, branded with red-hot irons, and not a few put to death, as the penalty for being "sturdy beggars," which condition enforced idleness made necessary.† Indeed, the history of the English Poor-Laws and the Act of Settlement under the Tudors and Stuarts is the history of futile attempts to deal with involuntary idleness.

With the development of the factory system and the concentration of capital, however, this evil has been steadily diminished; not from any generosity on the part of the capitalist towards the laborer, but because permanence of employment became indispensable to the success of large undertakings. As industrial establishments increased in size, involving millions of dollars, slight errors of management result in more serious losses. Indeed, it is a law of

* Prin. of Social Economics, Part IV., ch. iv (Industrial Depressions).

† In the first year of the reign of Edward VI. (1547) it was enacted (chapter iii) that "if any person refuse to labor, and live idly three days, he shall be branded with a red-hot iron on the breast with letter V, and be adjudged slave for two years of the person who informed against him. It is further provided that the master may cause his slave to work by beating or chaining him; if the slave absconds for fourteen days he is condemned to slavery for life, and if he runs away a second time, he can be put to death." It is said that "every part of the kingdom was infested with robbers and idle vagabonds who, refusing to labor, lived by plundering the peaceful inhabitants." In Elizabeth's reign, "rogues were trussed up apace, and there was not one year commonly wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten up by the gallows in one place and other." In the reign of Henry VIII., 72,600 are said to have been put to death for these offenses. (Wade's History of England, pp. 16 and 17. See also Rogers' Six Centuries of Work and Wages, p. 419.)

the concentration of capital that the larger the concern, the smaller is the margin of profit, the greater is the risk of loss; and expertness of management is more necessary to success. Indeed, with the small margin of profits and close competition between large concerns to-day, slight mistakes may involve the loss of thousands of dollars. So true is this that in all well-established industries the constant employment of capital is now practically indispensable to success. For example, in the manufacture of cotton cloth to-day an eighth of a cent a yard will make the difference between success and failure. The loss involved in the short stoppage of a large factory will soon be more than equal to the profit of a year's business. Whatever increases permanence in the use of capital necessarily increases the constancy of employment. Thus, as the wages system and factory methods develop, the capitalist has to pay the penalty through loss or bankruptcy for enforced idleness; and hence permanent employment becomes one of the features of the industrial expertness of capitalistic management. Under the individual or self-employing *regime* this was not the case. When the hand-weaver failed to sell his cloth or make a living he could starve, beg, go to jail or die, as the case might be. His poverty involved nobody else, while under the wages system the great capitalist, nay, the whole community, is involved with the enforced idleness of the laborer. This is inevitable, because of the dependence of the employing class upon the consumption of the laborers, which the colossalizing of productive methods has made necessary. Thus, the inherent tendency of the wages system is to increase the permanence of employment and diminish enforced idleness. X

Accordingly, the world over, we find that permanence of employment increases and enforced idleness diminishes where the wages system is most developed and capital most concentrated. If you have any doubts upon this point, watch the currents of emigration. People always leave those localities and countries where employment is the most precarious and least remunerative, and move towards those where it is most permanent and best rewarded. Hence we see that emigration everywhere tends from those countries where the wages system and factory methods are least developed, to those where they are most highly developed.

It is from Bohemia, Austria, Italy, Germany, Ireland, etc., towards England and America that the laborers emigrate, and never from England or America to Continental Europe and Asia.

The wages or stipulated-income system may be properly regarded as an integral part of modern civilization, which it is absolutely impossible to abolish without returning to barbarism. If the most Utopian socialistic scheme were adopted to-morrow it could not dispense with the payment of wages without abolishing factory methods of production and returning to the self-employing hand-labor conditions of primitive society. If we are to have railroads and factories at all, it would be just as necessary to pay salaries and wages if they were owned by the government as when they are owned by private individuals. Whether we have socialism or private ownership, unless we are to abandon the economic use of iron, steam, electricity, and the achievements of modern science, we must have a wages system.

This does not imply that the poverty, ignorance and social degradation of the present industrial life is to continue. What it means is that the social progress of the future must be sought along the same general lines that it has traveled in the past; namely, towards greater specialization of labor, stipulation of income, and interdependence of social classes. The wages system does not, as is commonly assumed, imply an iron law; on the contrary it is as elastic as human wants and desires, and is capable of as much expansion as the social character of man. There is nothing in this system to prevent wages from indefinitely increasing. It is just as possible for the laborer's income to rise from the present rate to \$5000 a year under the wages system, as it was for it to increase from \$20 a year in the fourteenth century to \$900 or \$1000 a year to-day.* In fact, if the same relative increase in wages, and the social freedom it implies, takes place during the next hundred years that has occurred during the present century, the laboring classes will be better off—richer and freer—by the year 2000, under the wages system, than even Bellamy's

*The wages of compositors, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, engineers, and some other classes of mechanics, have already reached \$1000 a year in this country, which, allowing for the difference in the value of gold, is many hundred per cent. higher than the wages of the artificers as fixed by the Statute of Laborers in 1350.

But delicacy of social machine will thus increase & hence greater necessity for harmony, self sacrifice, altruism. The reform must be an ethical one.

Utopian dream anticipates. In other words, with the wise application of economic law, the Nationalists' millennium will actually be reached quicker through the law of evolution under the wages system than by Bellamy's ethereal scheme, even if that were as scientifically correct as it is economically insane. It is of the very essence of the law of evolution, that the industrial system, which tends to centralize and socialize the laborer, to increase the economic interdependence of the capitalist, consumer and workman, and to make the material well-being of the masses the basis of business success, possesses all the possibilities of an ever-advancing civilization, and must in the nature of things be the foundation of the industrial system of the future. Manifestly, then, it is not to the abolition of the wages system, but to the influences which *advance wages*, by increasing the leisure and educational opportunities for developing the character, capacity and freedom of the laboring classes, that we must look for the industrial reforms which shall permanently promote the evolution of the highest individuality and the broadest social democracy.

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BY

JOHN W. CHADWICK

AUTHOR OF "EVOLUTION AS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT," "THE FAITH OF REASON," "CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN," ETC.

*The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose ;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.*

—Nature, i., 7.

THE fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimental forms, and rose to the more complex as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling-place; and that the lower perish as the higher appear. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking to us some remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. . . . The age of the quadruped is to go out, — the age of the brain and of the heart is to come in. And if one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the Better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and gehenna. He will convert the Furies into Muses and the hells into benefit.— *Culture.*

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

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“ SOCIOLOGICAL · EVOLUTION ”

XII.

*Brooklyn Ethical Association
Lectures.*

EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM

I. THE THEOLOGICAL METHOD.

BY

JOHN W. CHADWICK

AUTHOR OF “EVOLUTION AS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT,” “THE
FAITH OF REASON,” “CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN,” ETC.

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Spencer's "Principles of Sociology" and "Study of Sociology"; Thompson's "Problem of Evil" and "The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind"; Graham's "The Creed of Science" and "The Social Problem"; Salter's "Ethical Religion"; Greg's "Creeds of Christendom"; Mosheim's "Church History."

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EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM.*

I. THE THEOLOGICAL METHOD.

THE topic which has been assigned to me speaks volumes for your appreciation of my standing in the order of created things. Why should you think that mine should be the privilege of ushering in the great millennial dawn? For it would surely be upon us, and the remaining papers of this series would be read by its transcendent light, if I should treat successively of the different parts of the skeleton which in your syllabus of the course is denominated "Evolution and Social Reform: The Theological Method." I shall "make no bones" of setting some parts of this skeleton aside, and some of the others I shall consider with that "leaning to the side of mercy" which distinguishes the clergy from the laity in their public utterance: naturally, because they so much oftener have a chance.

There was social Form before there was social reform, and this was almost entirely theological or religious. When due allowance has been made for the over-working of a fascinating theory, M. Fustel de Coulanges's famous work, "The Ancient City," remains a splendid demonstration of the fact that religion — theological religion — was the original Founder of Society, determining its structure and its laws. Hence came, as from no other source, that "cake of custom," that definition, that authority of social forms, which was as absolutely essential to the beginnings of society as its ultimate breaking up was to its progress further on. An egg-shell is an excellent protection of the bird's incipient life, but broken it must be some day or else we have no bird. The religion of the hearth, the worship of ancestors, constituted the primitive family, established marriage and paternal authority, fixed the order of relationship, consecrated the right of property and the right of inheritance. The same religion, having formed the family, *re-formed* it, enlarged it, and extended it, often artificially enough. The legal fictions of antiquity were religious

fictions in the main. The developed and expanded religion of the hearth became the ancient city ; not *urbs*, but *civitas*, the ancient civil order. Its rules, its usages, its magistracies, were all religious. The priests adjudicated every question ; the pontiff was chief-justice. Law was but a phase of religion. Justice, as we understand the term, was unknown. "Our country right or wrong" was a religious doctrine then. In treaties, perfidy, in battle, massacre, were corollaries of this expanded family religion. In those good old times Socialism was the order of the day. Liberty had no existence ; education was compulsory. No man was permitted to live single or to rear a child that was weak or deformed. Food and clothing were prescribed. This "cake of custom," this family religion artificially extended to a religious city, a religious state, thickened and hardened so that the wonder is that it was ever broken ; but it was—about 2500 years ago. The priests were obliged to surrender their absolute authority, and rule only in worship, but the survivals of their original authority long lingered here and there in civic law and use. Solon "wrested the earth from religion and gave it to labor," in Coulanges's happy phrase. Aristotle says he put an end to the slavery of the people. As in mediæval Europe a baronial aristocracy succeeded the disintegration of the Empire, so was it here ; and as there the people made a set of royal tyrants the instruments of their battle with this aristocracy, so also was it here. Meantime, the arts sprang up ; socialism retired ; personal property was created ; money appeared. Over this, religion had no power. Now plebeians could be rich, and, once rich, could be aristocrats, and so the old lines of demarcation were more and more effaced. They invaded politics. They invaded the sacramental worship. They became consuls, priests. Rome, become democratic, became first republican and then imperial. It was the people who made the new tyrant, as they had made the old. The same tendency is observable in our modern life. Only the new tyrant, hankered for, is called Socialism. A Tyranny without a tyrant, shall we say ? But no less tyrannous on this account, and the personal tyrant would come very soon to tame the chaos that would certainly ensue, as Napoleon came to tame the chaos after the wild and whirling aspirations of the French Revolution.

It is easy to see that the relation of Religion to Society, in its primeval and pre-Christian form, was mixed of various yarn, good and ill together. The "cake of custom" which it furnished was a necessity of the social situation. That or no society at all. But it paid dear for its whistle. It was miserably artificial while it held its own. It entailed a miserable inheritance of legal and moral fictions on the emancipated Greek and Roman world. That History never repeats itself is a proverbial phrase. It is as true as our proverbial wisdom generally is, and that is something less than half. History never repeats itself exactly. It is always repeating itself in a large and general way. The immense disintegration which succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire through its inherent weakness and the onset of the Barbarians was not unlike the original social chaos. It needed quite as much a formative principle; quite as much a new cake of custom. Christianity, ecclesiastical Christianity, responded to the need. It was the savior of society. For centuries its splendid domination secured a social order hardly if any less religious than the society and State determined by the family religion of the ancient world. For every part of life, domestic, personal, industrial, political, intellectual, æsthetic, there was a religious rule. The rule was often monstrous and absurd. No matter; all the same it held the fort till reinforcements could come up, the intellectual and political forces of the modern world. And as under the old *régime* there was a miserable inheritance from the Religion of the Hearth, so have we had a miserable inheritance from the Christianity which saved society in the Middle Ages, an inheritance of theological morality—a morality looking not to human benefit but to the imagined will or preference of God for the sanctions of the moral life. Theological morality in its palmy days endeavored, and for the most part successfully, to elevate the importance of performing certain ceremonies and of believing certain doctrines into superiority to any actions between man and man. But human nature is so constituted that, although men may easily persuade themselves that intellectual error, or sacramental irregularity, is the most damnable of crimes, "the voice of conscience protests so strongly against this doctrine that it can only be silenced by the persuasion that the personal character of the heretic (or delinquent) is as repulsive as

his creed." "Calumny," says Lecky, "is the homage which dogmatism has ever paid to conscience. Even in the periods when the guilt of heresy was universally believed, the spirit of intolerance was only sustained by the diffusion of countless libels against the misbeliever, and by concealment of his virtues." The heretical or sacramentally delinquent dog must have a bad name fastened on him before he could be hung or burned or drawn and quartered with an entirely satisfied and quiet mind.

But the dis-service done by theological morality has not been by any means exhausted by its attendant persecutions. These have somehow been the nursing-mothers of political independence and industrial success. The blood of the martyrs has not been so obviously the seed of the church as it has been the seed of enterprise and wealth in soil that she has drenched with blood. Witness to this the fortunes of the Jews; of the Dutch who, having taken Holland from the sea, took her again from Philip's more rapacious clutch; of the Huguenots who in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, where their descendants still have the right of worship, set up their looms and made a brave beginning of England's wonderful and magnificent industrial life. No, the grand dis-service of the theological method in morality has been the absorption in the imaginary service of God of energies that would have planted the standard of humanity some furlongs further into chaos. The survival still survives, but in our day is less a good deal than archangel ruined with the excess of glory obscured.

One item of the schedule of particular things assigned to me for measurement and weight is "Nineteen Hundred Years of Christianity," and you are now requested to compose yourselves to a history of this succession. I hasten to arrest the stampede which I perceive is imminent, by assuring you that I shall not take up each separate year, but give you an abstract and brief chronicle, and this almost entirely with reference to that aspect of society (the industrial aspect) to which those who follow me in this course of lectures will confine themselves. When Dr. F. E. Abbot suggested, some twenty years ago, that Christianity is a failure, the courteous retort was at once made upon him, "It has never been tried." And this is true if by Christianity we are to understand the social doctrine of the New Testament. At least its trial, as reported in the

New Testament, was within very narrow limits. Christian civilization has never been a trial of the New Testament Social Ideals, except here and there in isolated and sporadic ways. The Quakers have tried non-resistance, and the moral of their experience is that pictorially furnished by the affair in Scranton, when the Hicksites and the Orthodox contended for the possession of a meeting-house. Not a blow was struck, but there was a great deal of pushing, till, finally, the Orthodox—I must believe they were the more numerous party—pushed every living Hicksite out of doors. Moral—in any society where there is no striking, there will be a good deal of pushing. Monastic celibacy has made a very extensive and protracted trial of the “counsels of perfection” Jesus gave in his teaching upon marriage, and which Paul distinctly reinforced. With neither of them was marriage an ideal condition. It was a concession to ungovernable lust. Monastic celibacy can hardly be regarded as a success. There went along with it a great deal of industrial help. But it was essentially illogical,—depending on the disobedient for the materials of its obedience. It said, “Marriage peoples earth, but virginity peoples heaven.” But so long as marriage or illicit unions must furnish the raw material of virginity, and the former were accursed, marriage was a fortunate expedient of the average man. We have the opinion of Galton that monastic celibacy drained off the finest brains in Europe from the natural current of its intellectual development, so that the average brain at the conclusion of the Middle Ages was of less capacity than in Ancient Greece. Moreover, even if the monks and nuns had kept their foolish and unnatural vows it would have been at the expense of a pruriency of persistent thought more intolerable, says Renan, than the vices of the world.

But what is the relation of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament and nascent Christianity, to that Social problem which is *par excellence* the Social problem of the present time—the problem of Poverty and Wealth? To what extent has the New Testament industrial Christianity been tried, and to what extent has it succeeded, if it has not altogether failed?

Judaism has never been so painfully at odds with its avowed ideals as Christianity. In seeking wealth the Jew has always had the warrant of *his* Bible, clear and strong.

For the Old Testament doctrine of wealth is frank and unmistakable. It is a blessing from the Lord. It is a sign of the divine approval—one of three signs that are continually recurring. The other two are long life and many children. The Book of Job is the only serious protest in the Old Testament against the doctrine that riches are the reward of righteousness, and even this, before it ends, seems to decide for Job's accusers and against Job himself. You will remember that in the end he had again seven sons and three daughters in the place of those whom he had lost, and twice as many sheep, oxen, camels and she-asses as he had before. We seek vainly for his wife in this enumeration;—unless—but the suggestion is unworthy, and I pass it by.

Nothing is more convincing of the gulf dividing the Old Testament and New than the difference of their views concerning poverty and wealth. In the Old Testament the rich, and in the New Testament the poor, are approved of heaven, and known to be so by this sign. Nothing is surer than that, as between the rich and poor of his own time, Jesus was clearly for the poor. His gospel was for them. The key-note is sounded in the story of his first preaching in the synagogue of his native Nazareth:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor”;

and in the beatitudes in Luke, “Blessed are the poor,” he cries; and conversely, “Go to, ye rich men, weep and howl, for you have received your consolation.” To the young man asking Jesus what he shall do to inherit eternal life, Jesus makes answer that he must sell all he has and give the proceeds to the poor. And it is evident that these precepts and examples did not vanish into the thin air and bring forth no result. Tolstoi, in his account of his religion, which he identifies with that of Jesus, takes what he likes, and leaves what he does not, with a recklessness that would make an ordinary Christian commentator blush. The non-resistance precepts he accepts without qualification. “Judge not,” he interprets literally and legally. Ergo, we are to have no courts, no trials, no punishments of crime. But though, in such a society as he imagines, life would surely not be worth living, a paradise of ignorance and dirt,—education separates men, therefore no education; cleanliness separates, therefore blessed are the unwashed,—

yet, paradoxical as it may seem, the sole function of woman in this kingdom of hell is to multiply and replenish the earth. Why did not Tolstoi avail himself of the "counsels of perfection" which Jesus uttered against marriage? Why, but because it is inevitable that, when the Bible is made an authority, it is like the Mormon prophet's compass, which, when he had taken it in his hand, it did turn whichever way he would. Tolstoi is as strenuous for work as for the multiplication of children, though it is evident that Jesus and his immediate disciples gave up all work and made a common purse. "And Judas had the bag"—a phrase significant of much. He sold the Master's life for thirty pieces of silver. It is to be feared that every communistic enterprise will have its Judas soon or late, who, if he does not steal the bag, will engage in private speculation. Our first acquaintance with the early Christians after the death of Jesus finds them a socialistic body, having "all things in common,"—but voluntarily, Peter reminding Ananias, who kept back part of the price, that he might have kept his money or that which he sold.

If, then, by Christianity, we mean the precept and example of the New Testament, it is evident that Christianity makes for socialism in its crudest form; for communism, with which we must not by any means confound the State-Socialism of Marx and Bellamy and Hyndman. But, then, it ought to be remembered that on the entire social and industrial ideal of early Christianity, Paul and Jesus himself included, there was the bias of a firm persuasion that the mundane order of society was very shortly to be broken up. That made a mighty difference. In 1843, if I remember rightly the year of the great Millerite excitement, a Unitarian minister, from whom I had the story, stepped into a Philadelphia hatter's store to buy a hat. Having selected one, he asked, "How much?" "Nothing," replied the hatter; and explained that he was a Millerite, and that the world was coming to an end the following day. Money was nothing to him, therefore. He had more than enough for the day. "Then," said the minister, "will you not give me ten dollars?" "Certainly," replied the man, suiting the action to the word. The next day but one my friend stepped in again, the world not having come to an end in the meantime, and paid for his hat and returned the ten dollars, *nemine contradicente*. The moral is plain.

An order of society which is unobjectionable and even admirable for a world hastening to destruction, must look quite different seen from the standpoint of a world which has the promise of indefinite duration. It is a vice of criticism old and new that no sufficient allowance is made for the bias of the expectation, cherished equally by Jesus and his disciples, of a catastrophic ending of the mundane order of their time, and the establishment in its place of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. What Jesus and Paul might have thought of industry and property and marriage and government and slavery, and such things generally, if they had imagined such continuance of the old order as was actually unrolled, we do not know. But, knowing that their every social opinion was subject to the bias of their hope, we must neither hold them absolutely responsible for their opinions, nor go to them as if it were likely we should find in them a social rule agreeable to the continuous and stable order of the world.

The New Testament had not reached its final term, before, in Second Peter, written about 170 of our era, we hear a wail of disappointment and regret: "Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep all things remain as they were from the beginning of the world." Long before that there was doubtless many a doubter, and many an Ananias who kept back part, and then the whole, of his estate from the common stock and store. It does not even appear that the Christian Commune ever got any hold outside Jerusalem. Paul was obliged to take the Corinthian Christians in hand for not sharing even the bread and wine of the communion-feast, some eating and drinking what they took with them and others getting nothing. Nevertheless, it was not a little that passed over from the Christianity of Jesus and his first disciples into the early and the later Christian church. The words of Paul and Jesus about marriage died, as rules of general application, to rise again as "counsels of perfection," celibacy for those who could endure the strain; and hence, with many things co-operant to the end, the immense development of anchoritic and monastic life. And it was the monastic orders that perpetuated the ideal, if not the practice, of poverty in the Christian church. Even before the conversion of the Roman empire the church, as an ecclesiastical institution, began to grow rich, and it grew

enormously so as time went on. Sinners and saints, departing from this life, emptied their private fortunes into its bursting coffers, either in the hope of bettering their chance of heaven or in supreme assurance of its bliss. The secular clergy growing sleek and comfortable, the regular clergy, that is to say the monks, took up the rôle of poverty. These also soon attained to wealth, but in their corporate capacity; and for a monk to crave the joy of private ownership was the most heinous sin. If ever Socialism has a patron-saint it should be Gregory the Great. He was abbot of a Benedictine Monastery before he was made pope, and, falling sick, a monk named Justus saved his life by his unwearying care. Soon after, Justus falling sick and being near to death, confessed that he had three pieces of gold concealed in a flask of medicine. At once command was given, and by Gregory himself, that no one should approach the bedside of the dying man to speak a word of hope or consolation. And no sooner was he dead than his body was cast upon the dung-hill with his three pieces of gold, the whole brotherhood shouting with one voice, "Thy money perish with thee!" Here, at any rate, was Socialism that had the courage of its convictions. But private poverty immersed in corporate wealth was seen to be only a half-way poverty; and out of this perception grew the mendicant orders, taking the vow of poverty not for themselves only, but for the order also; a scheme which prospered for a time, and then the mendicants grew rich and rich and richer, till, like the Roman augurs, they could not meet in private without laughing in each other's faces at the joke. It is a significant fact that, at the beginning of the French Revolution, one-fifth of all the land in France was in the church's hands. Of other wealth it had a larger share.

The monastic ideal of poverty, in which the New Testament ideal survived, was far from being hostile to the general pursuit of wealth in the community. It was a "counsel of perfection," a rule confessedly too high for general attainment, and so it gave *carte blanche* to all who did not adopt it to put money in their purses and add field to field without reproach or shame. It is evident that mendicancy implied having and giving, just as the virginity that peopled heaven implied the marriage that peopled earth. There were never more rich men than the church found for

her purpose, frying out their fat with an ingenious success that must be ever the despair of political committees raising money for campaign expenses in these degenerate days. But whether it was that the impossible ideal *did* shame the common mind, or that this could not compete with the protected interests of the church, certain it is that those parts of Europe which have been pre-eminently distinguished for manufacturing and commercial activity and the increase of secular wealth have been almost without exception hostile to the pretensions of the Mother Church, and, in many instances, heretics and schismatics. This is in part explained as we explain the fortunes of the Jew in Christendom. His disabilities have been the nurses of his power. A hunted creed, if it be not extirpated, has an invariable tendency to make its votaries "reserved, concentrated in their callings, vigilant in action and in the end wealthy." Witness the fifteenth century of English history, the most prosperous in her annals, until, in our own time, free-trade and trades-unions and the shortening of the hours of labor have conspired in the production of an unparalleled prosperity. And the energetic, the enterprising, the wealthy, were those Lollards that had sprung from Wiclif's seed. Witness the Huguenots in France, from whom the industrialism of modern England rightly dates. Witness the Dutch and Flemings, the Puritans and Quakers. The facts incline us to accept the Old Testament interpretation that riches are the natural reward of righteousness. Of course the exceptions are many, but in the long run and the wide sweep the gravitation of wealth has been to character, to men of self-denying virtue, to men who have sought first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness.

However this may be, the general fact is indisputable that Christianity, which was the religion of poverty, both ideally and actually in its early stages, is in the nineteenth century pre-eminently the religion of wealth. The only possible exception to this statement is suggested by the financial successes of the Jews. But these have been so generally the successes of Christian Jews—i. e., of Jews mixed up with Christians in financial matters—that it does not affect the general consideration. The wealth of the world to-day is very largely heaped up within Christian boundaries, and wherever Christianity goes, there wealth accumulates and, for the most part, men do not decay. But

the main increase has been in the most recent times, the application of machinery to labor and of steam-power to machinery, the principal factors in the increase, a comment on the threadbare fallacy that "all wealth is the product of labor" that cannot be too carefully observed. There is significance in the fact that the growth of industry and wealth has been most remarkable in quarters least subject to the control or influence of the Roman Catholic church, in quarters where the Protestant virtues, as Cardinal Newman calls them,—personal independence and self-respect,—have had the fullest swing. The industrialism and wealth of modern life have flourished not merely in contempt of the original church, but in part because (no thanks to her) of her fatuous opposition. The immense development of mechanical skill is eldest daughter of that scientific spirit with which the Mother Church had no community. It has come of an insatiable curiosity for which she has had no favorable word or smile. The uttermost dis-service done by that Church to industry and wealth and labor and the general social *status* of mankind was through her monstrous opposition to its intellectual life. Had not the Jew and the Mohammedan kept the flame of intellectual life in Europe it seems as if it must have gone out in smoke and stench forever. The Christian branch of the Semitic stock was without flower or fruit when the Mohammedan and Jewish branches of the same stock were all abloom with promise or loaded down with intellectual fruit. "Persecution," says Lecky, "came to the Jewish nation in its most horrible forms, . . . but above all this the grandeur of that wonderful people rose supreme. While those around were groveling in the darkness of besotted ignorance; while juggling miracles and lying relics were the themes on which almost all Europe was expatiating; while the intellect of Europe, enthralled by countless superstitions, had sunk into a deadly torpor in which all love of inquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning, and stimulating progress with the same unflinching confidence they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers; while they were second only to the Moors in natural science," freely appropriating their results and giving them such currency as they could

in Western Europe. It was Jewish wealth that broke the arm of Christian persecution. Not till the Jew's money was absolutely indispensable to Kings and popes, for the prosecution of their crusades and wars, did the stress of persecution cease.

The system of credit and exchange which is inseparable from the industrialism of the modern world was developed by the Jews, if the letter of exchange was not of their device. They were the first to make a liberal use of this device. We are thus brought face to face with the matters of interest and usury. The social reformer whose panacea for all the ills which modern industrialism is heir to or has originally developed is the prohibition of interest, has the Bible, Old and New Testament, at his back, and equally the unanimous authority of the Christian church for seventeen centuries. The last authoritative utterance of the church was in the eleventh century, and it was as hostile to usury or interest as any previous utterance. I say "to usury or interest," for it is only the finesse of modern Christianity that has made out any difference between the two. Usury in the Bible means just interest, no more, or less; and usury meant interest all down the Christian centuries till some three centuries since. Three per cent. was as much usury as ten, and equally disallowed. But in spite of papal interdicts the giving and receiving of interest, called usury, went on, and at length all churchly opposition ceased. The church hardly attained unto the wisdom of the school-mistress, who said to the refractory boy, who would not budge, "Then stay where you are, for I will be minded." But it concluded to let the refractory usurers stay where they were, and say no more. Protestantism was much ahead of Romanism in its abandonment of the futile opposition. John Calvin had some good horse sense with all his theological barbarities. He was a paternalist in Geneva, if there ever was one, but he refused to prohibit interest by law. He was much less slavish in his bibliolatry than many who succeeded him. Moreover, he was one of the very first to expose the absurdity of Aristotle that "money is sterile." The attitude of the church in this regard will be differently appreciated according as one believes all interest-taking to be wrong, or believes its giving and taking to be the happiest device of industry and commerce in the modern world. I am myself decidedly of the last opinion.

The principal operation of the Theological and Ecclesiastical method is not, however, to be sought in the application of specific precepts and examples of the Scriptures to the social world, but in the diffusion of a spirit of compassion and good-will and brotherhood. Nothing was more fundamental than the institution of slavery to the social structure of the pagan world. Nothing is more creditable to Christianity of the first and middle period than its opposition to this institution, an opposition by which it was ultimately destroyed. I know the gibe that it was Christians who could not be slaves in Christian eyes, not men. It somewhat dims the splendor of the church's work in this direction. But all were welcome to the church, and its recruits were largely if not mainly from the servile class. So, with its anti-slavery, there went along a social democracy which has always been the glory of the Mother Church—not allied with political Democracy, because to this the church's doctrine of passive obedience is a fatal blow. Of social equality and fraternity the old church was a much better conservator than the reformed. It is so to this day. It is Protestantism that has rich men's churches, to which poor men cannot come. How good it is in every Catholic church in Europe to find rich and poor upon an equal footing,—it is generally footing and not sitting,—the fine lady and the peasant, the merchant and the artisan at elbow-touch! What a monstrous thing that in democratic America Catholicism contracts the aristocratic taint of pew-owning and renting, though happily as yet the poor have not been driven out into unlovely chapels or the unlovelier streets.

Another splendid service of early Christianity to the industrial world was in its enhancement of the dignity of labor. It was a piece of happy fortune that Paul, combating the disorder and the idleness of a world expecting daily Christ's return, said, "He that will not work shall not eat,"—a copula which has lost none of its validity in the course of 1900 years. But it was the Benedictine monks who, making labor a rule of their order yet not a counsel of perfection, gave an immense enhancement to the dignity of labor in men's eyes. Nor would it be easy to exaggerate the labors of the monks as pioneers of civilization, tamers of the wilderness, founders of universities and towns, and as exemplars to the general world of sturdy industry.

You must not think that I have wilfully omitted American slavery from my consideration. Strange as it may seem, Las Casas, one of the most benevolent of Spanish Catholics,

was the most conspicuous inaugurator of slavery in the new world. It must be confessed that the Christianity which supported slavery in the United States was much inferior to that which weakened and destroyed it in the early church, and, notwithstanding frightful instances of cruelty in ancient slavery, our own of yesterday was much more debasing. But though the American churches were, as James G. Birney said, the bulwark of slavery, the bulwark was one from behind which the Anti-Slavery party drew its noblest strength, from Garrison and Whittier and Green and May and Channing and Parker, down to the humblest of the rank and file. The bible strength of the Pro-Slavery party was an Old-Testament custom; the bible strength of the Anti-Slavery party was the spirit of compassion and humanity which warmed the heart of Jesus with a pure and heavenly flame. There can be no doubt, I think, that Garrison was a better interpreter of Christianity than Wilbur Fisk, finding an argument for slavery in the Golden Rule;—for should we wish our neighbor to seek our liberty at the risk of endangering the safety of the Union and of the Methodist church! For all the Wilbur Fisks, and there were many, it was the Puritan conscience of the North, which the Bible and Christianity had nourished, that broke the axe in the destroyer's hands.

"The poor ye have always with you," Jesus said,—a prophecy that has had complete fulfillment from his time to ours; but when he added, "And whenever you will you can do them good," there was a mocking echo from the experience of nineteen Christian centuries—"Good?" "Alms-giving no charity," wrote Daniel Defoe, almost the first to see that this was so. And perhaps it was not so in the order of society in which Jesus lived. Alms-giving may then have been the only possible charity. It is certainly the charity of the New Testament, and of the early and the later church to our own time. And there can be no doubt that the Christian charity which provoked the Emperor Julian to stir up the pagan heart to something like it, saying, "It is outrageous that the Christians should support not only their own destitute but ours,"—there can be no doubt that this charity was very sweet and beautiful in comparison with the hard indifference of the pagan world to suffering and misery. In the ages before organized charity we must honor the spontaneous charity of men. But of one thing we may be sure: It never yet diminished poverty. Especially when the church elevated mendicancy to a virtue,

that and indiscriminate charity brought forth a dreadful brood. It was understood that poverty and mendicancy were necessary raw material for charity, and as such they were encouraged. Without poverty and mendicancy the occupation of the saintly alms-giver would be gone. Laterly it has been borne in upon us that, if charity is a necessary evil, it is an evil that cannot be too seriously deplored. Does the evil of intemperance pauperize so much? But in the reform of charity, which began within the memory of my younger hearers; in the battle with indiscriminate almsgiving; in the endeavor to help those who help themselves, to organize friendly visiting, to establish a sympathetic and humane relationship between the rich and poor, it cannot be denied or doubted that the church has furnished a full quota of the tireless laborers. Nor can it be denied that it is the spirit of Christianity, the spirit of the man Jesus, which is fundamental to their work. It was Edward Denison, a young preacher in London's miserable East-End, who was one of the first to make the startling affirmation, "Charity is a frightful evil," and who made "no direct help" and "compulsory labor for all beggary" the *sine qua nons* of charitable reform. It was John Richard Green, the great historian, but then a London vicar, who declared that sixpenny photographs had done more for the poor than all the charity. How so? By nourishing the home sentiment, by strengthening the family bond. No Russian *ikon* so consecrating as that row of poor *cartes-de-visite* upon the mantelshelf,—the old mother's in the country, the father's dead and gone, the baby's over whom the sods are green, the boys' far off in strange new lands. And it was Arnold Toynbee, another churchman eager, bold, and strong, in whose honored name Toynbee Hall was established to embody the idea of personal human sympathy and fellowship as the highest and the best that can entice the social helpers of our time. Scientific charity is not enough. I can imagine that charity might be so scientific that a wise man would prefer the old alms-giving way. It might pauperize more, but it would humanize more. What we want is a charity that shall be Scientific in its method, Religious in its spirit. Otherwise your scientific charity is a locomotive without fire and water, without steam. But most of all we need a vital human sympathy, such as Jesus felt, with every child of God however miserable or depraved. I am persuaded that the more we know him for what he was, the more will his sympathy and his compassion be an inspiration to our good endeavor,

and a shame upon our shameful hesitations and withdrawals in our contact with the ignorant and poor and weak. And if the truth were known, the poor need not the rich more than the rich need the poor—to teach them a neighborly spirit, to teach them the rudiments of generosity.

Last, but not least, I am expected—so do the syllabus and Dr. Janes inform me—to say something on “the foolishness of preaching”; no, something about preaching as a means of social reform. The “Theological Method” is, in short, the method of Preaching; the method of direct religious and ethical appeal to the individual. I should not myself think of calling this the Theological method. I should prefer to call it the Ethical method or the Religious. For it is evident that we can have abundance of direct religious or ethical appeal to the individual without any theological implications. Felix Adler and William Salter have no theology *to speak of*, and they would smile or frown to hear their method called the Theological method; but of ethical and religious appeal to the individual there is in them no lack. There is a theological method in preaching, and it may or may not have persuasive moral force with men. If the God whom it presents to men’s imagination is a God of justice, mercy, truth and love their contemplation of this image will be very apt to quicken in their minds and hearts those wonderful realities. But it is different when the God is different.

The effect of preaching upon social life is certainly an unknown quantity. It must be such from the nature of the case. We cannot get at the facts. A great deal of Christian preaching has had for its object, not the improvement of society, or even of the individual, but the salvation of souls, the improvement of men’s chances for the heavenly world. And it has endeavored to stir them up to believe certain incomprehensible doctrines, or to avail themselves of certain sacraments, as the sure means of effecting their eternal good. A great deal of this preaching, logically entertained and carried out, would be ruinous to the social order and the individual life. It is the preaching that morality has nothing to do with salvation; that the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin. “Only believe” that it is *so* and it *is* so. Estimated logically, the doctrine of the Atonement is a horribly immoral doctrine; nevertheless its operation has not been habitually immoral. But this fact goes not to the credit of the doctrine but to the credit of humanity, which is infinitely better than the creeds. Men have

not seen the doctrine; they have seen a good man suffering for humanity, a good man laying down his life for his friends, and that has touched their hearts to finer issues.

But with all the theological preaching, all the preaching of total depravity and eternal hell and the atonement and the trinity and election and predestination, and so on, there has been a great deal of moral and religious preaching. Some of the most theological preachers have been sternly ethical. Calvin, for instance, did in no wise waste himself entirely in theological speculations. He attempted to regulate the social life of Geneva down to the last particular. People should even go home and go to bed at such a time. A great many preachers have been social reformers. Theodore Parker preached a sermon on the duties of milkmen, and Archbishop Tillotson preached one on the duty of mothers to suckle their own children. All the ages down, there has been a great deal of ethical preaching with the theological. The theological has made the more noise. It has oftener got into books. But it has not done anything like so much good as the other. That has often fallen into good ground and sprung up and borne fruit thirty, sixty and a hundred fold.

The idea of conversion has been very prominent in the Christian world. Without a conscious conversion many have insisted that no one can have any hope of everlasting happiness or be a Christian here. Now, that preaching has effected a great many very real conversions I am not in the least inclined to doubt. It has converted the drunkard and the licentious from their evil ways. It has persuaded those who have stolen to steal no more. It has sent men and women home to be better husbands and wives; more kind, more tender, more thoughtful, more forgiving. But I do not believe that the best effect of preaching has been by its conversions—sharp turnings-round of men from bad ways to good. I believe that its best effect has been to bathe men in an atmosphere of holiness, to induce in them a habit of noble expectation with themselves, to keep them in the constant presence of beautiful and exigent ideals, and most of all in the presence of that ideal of tenderness and compassion and sincerity which was embodied in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, the carpenter's son.

The Religious method of social reform, as I prefer to call it, is the method of personal character. The preaching of the Christian church has been one aspect of this method. It has had many great allies,—the theatre; the novel; the

newspaper sometimes; biographies of noble men and women, and, better still, the personal influence of such. And that for which it works is the one thing without which no social reform can have permanence or essential worth. Society will never be much, if any, better than the individuals of which it is composed. If we could have a perfect social scheme to-morrow, with men and women just as they are now, it would soon degenerate to the average level of the individuals of which it is composed. There must be a conspiracy of the outward and the inward. We need and must have better social forms: so far the Socialist is right. We must have less governmental meddling, less interference, less protection, more local and individual responsibility: so far the Anarchist is right,—though childishly absurd in glorying in a name which has stood for lawlessness so long that the taint will stick to it forever. We must know the laws of political economy and the social structure, in order that we may obey them: and so far the Scientific method of social reform is right, and we must give to it our earnest heed. But the Religious method of social reform is greater than all these. It is the method of personal righteousness and truth and love. It is the method of men and women devoted to lofty personal ideals. Without this the other methods will not much avail. Without the others this might work a wondrous transformation. Society would hardly recognize itself if all men and women should obey the law of righteousness so far as it is known. It would think that it was "Kingdom-come." But if with better social regulations, and fewer injurious restraints, and larger scientific knowledge, we could have a general consecration of the individual life to what it believes and knows to be the highest, then should we truly see the glow of a millennial dawn. Individually it may be that we cannot do much for the better social regulation, or the lessening of interference and restraint, or the increase of scientific knowledge. But individually we can each present one man or woman to the ever-growing company of the good and true who has a right to march with them to certain victory, though it may not be for us to taste the fulness of its joy.

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
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